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THE NEIGHBORHOOD: A STUDY OF LOCAL LIFE IN THE CITY OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

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ABSTRACT

Religion and the church. Differences in religious and moral attitudes are potent elements in the determination of lines of association in this neighborhood. The Catholic church is a dominant force, but most of the Protestant churches are losing ground. Missions, representing the more mystical creeds, enlist the interest of a considerable element of the population. *Education and delinquency.* Part of this neighborhood has the lowest school-attendance rating of any section in the city. The children attending one of the schools in this section were rated by a psychologist as mentally two years below the children attending a school in a higher economic area of the city. Juvenile delinquency is slightly more prevalent in this neighborhood than in the city as a whole. *Neighborhood sentiment.* Positive sentiment for the neighborhood and surrounding neighbors is rarely expressed by resident family groups. Occasional streets, however, contain intimate neighborly groups of people who are happy in their physical and social surroundings.

PART II. AN ANALYSIS OF A DISINTEGRATED CITY NEIGHBORHOOD—*Continued*

IX. RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

Our chief interest in wishing to know the religious affiliations of the people of this neighborhood is to get some clue concerning the diversity of their voluntary associations. A study of any residential area within a city always reveals the great complexity of the associational life of its inhabitants. The crossings and recrossings of individual interests show that neighborhood association alone is not adequate to meet all the needs of human nature. Table XVIII gives in considerable detail the religious preference of the adults of this neighborhood as obtained from our house-to-house canvass. It includes all persons indicating religious preference, not merely church members or attendants.

It will be observed that there is a considerable range of difference in the religious preference of the people in this district. Approximately 32 per cent of all adults reporting, 38 per cent of the men and 26 per cent of the women, deny affiliation with any religious

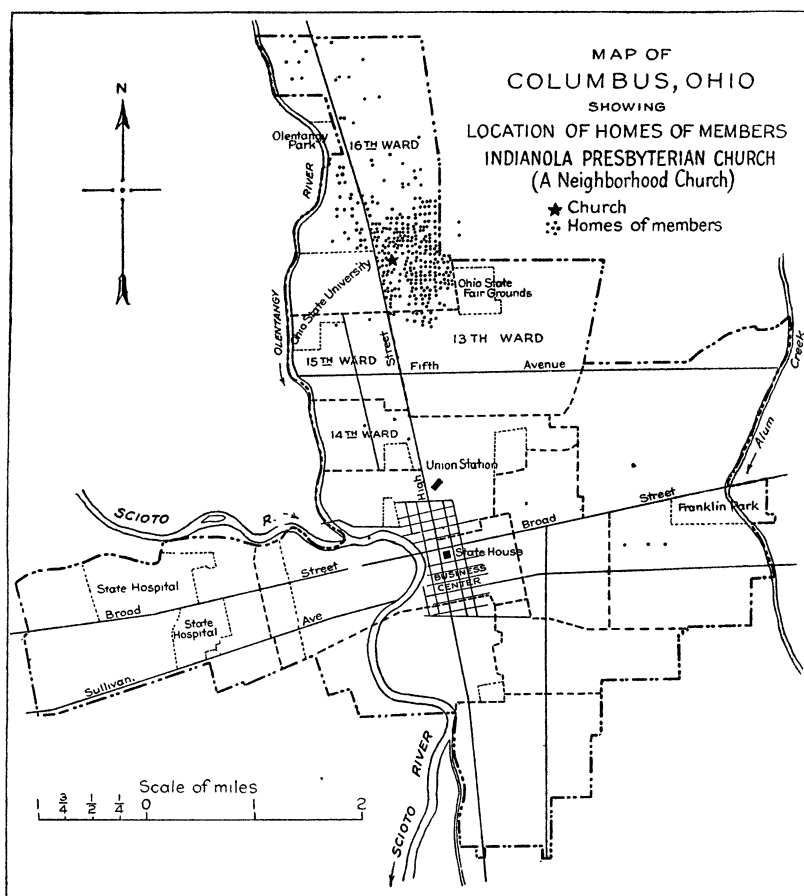
group. Of those indicating religious preference, 520, or 22.8 per cent, incline toward the Catholic faith, and, for the most part, are members of the Holy Family Church within the neighborhood. The remaining 1,317, or 87 per cent, indicate preference for one or other of the various Protestant sects listed in Table XVIII. It will be noted that a very considerable portion of those of Protestant faith belong to the more mystical and orthodox types of religious sects.

TABLE XVIII
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|-------|--------|-------|
| No. reporting no church affiliation. | 488 | 363 | 851 |
| No. reporting affiliation with Catholic churches. . . . | 237 | 283 | 520 |
| No. reporting affiliation with Protestant churches. . . | 575 | 742 | 1,317 |
| Sectarian distribution of Protestants: | | | |
| Methodist. | 195 | 247 | 442 |
| Baptist. | 73 | 90 | 163 |
| Presbyterian. | 68 | 82 | 150 |
| Lutheran. | 47 | 60 | 107 |
| Church of Christ. | 36 | 65 | 101 |
| Episcopal. | 37 | 49 | 86 |
| United Brethren. | 34 | 38 | 72 |
| Spiritualist. | 15 | 25 | 40 |
| Congregational. | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| Protestant Church. | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Seventh-Day Adventists. | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Holy Rollers. | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Christian Science. | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| Salvation Army. | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Missions. | 41 | 45 | 86 |
| Total number of persons reporting. | 1,300 | 1,388 | 2,688 |

The facts brought out in our religious census, together with the general attitudes expressed on religious questions, go to show that the people of this neighborhood constitute a peculiar mixture of intense religious enthusiasm combined with religious apathy or pronounced religious antagonism. In other words the apparent homogeneity of the population of this area, as revealed by the external physical and cultural conditions, is, for the most part, superficial. A study of the inner associational life of the people shows that there exist wide chasms of difference in social attitudes.

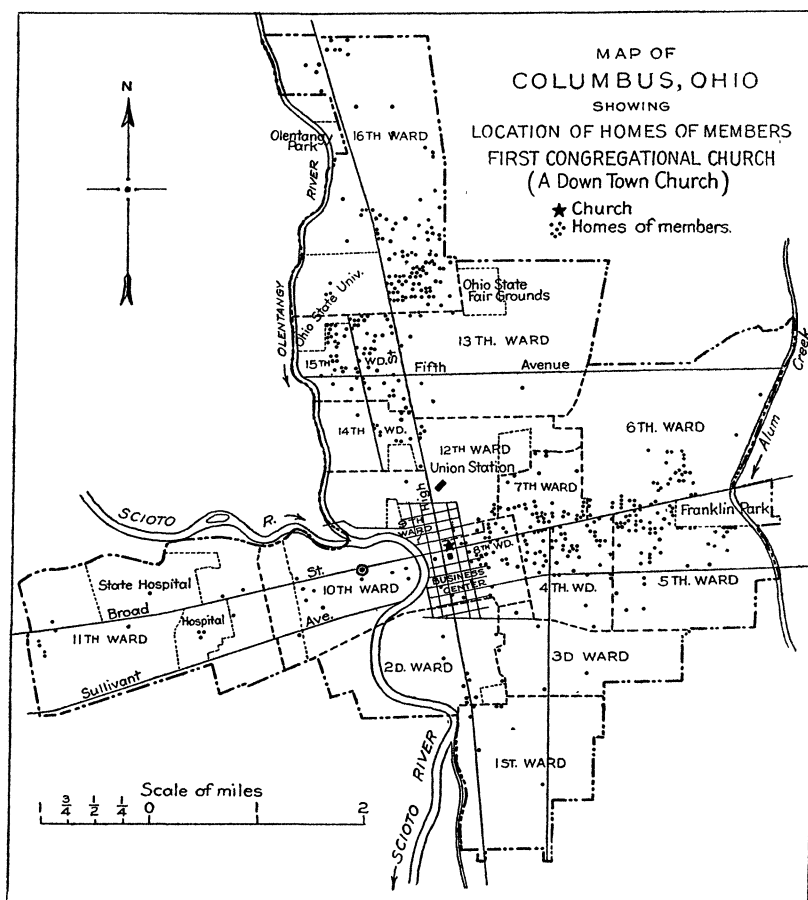
That religious bias is an important factor in determining lines of association and group life is indicated by the following expressions of typical attitudes: "We have our own Spiritualist friends and don't bother any one else." "I don't like this district, too



MAP VIII

many niggers and Holy Rollers." When asked concerning attendance at motion-picture shows, one woman replied, "Pictures are sending thousands straight to hell, dances are worse, I'm plain spoken." Another woman remarked, "I want to leave this neighborhood, I have Catholics on both sides of me." Such examples

might be multiplied indefinitely, attention is drawn to them merely to illustrate the difficulties involved when attempting to bring



MAP IX

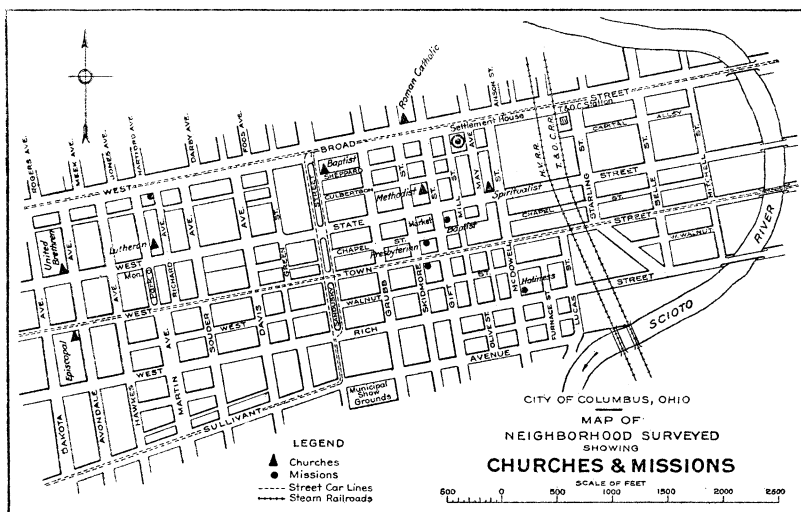
individuals of different religious and moral attitudes into a common plane of association.¹

City churches may be roughly grouped into two general classes: neighborhood churches and non-neighborhood churches. The

¹ "It is assumed, I suppose, that any idea or group of ideas, any belief or group of beliefs, may happen to be, or may become, a common interest, shared by a small or a large number of individuals. It may draw and hold them together in bonds of

former type selects its members largely on the basis of proximity, the latter type selects its members chiefly on the basis of individual preference or interest without respect to locality.

The distribution of a church's members determines the rôle which it may play as a neighborhood builder. It is difficult to focus attention on neighborhood affairs among a congregation that is widely distributed throughout the entire city. Maps VIII and IX illustrate the two types of churches referred to.



MAP X

Within the district surveyed there are seven churches and five missions, the locations of which are marked on Map X. A summary of the leading facts concerning these religious institutions will give some indication of the rôle they play in the life of the neighborhood. In the first place it must be noted that the churches vary considerably in the extent to which they draw their member-

acquaintance, of association, even of co-operation. It thus may play a group-making rôle. Contradictory ideas or beliefs, therefore, may play a group-making rôle in a double sense. Each draws into association the individual minds that entertain it or find it attractive. Each also repels those minds to whom it is repugnant, and drives them toward the group which is being formed about the contradictory idea or belief. Contradictions among ideas and beliefs, then, it may be assumed, tend on the whole to sharpen the lines of demarkation between group and group."—Giddings: "Are Contradictions of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group-making Rôle in the Future?" *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, 2XIII, 784.

ship from the neighborhood round about. For instance four of the churches report that over 90 per cent of their members live within walking distance of their respective places of worship; the fifth church reports that 50 per cent of its members live within walking distance, the sixth 35, and the seventh only 10 per cent. This information will help in the interpretation of the following facts.

TABLE XIX
SUMMARY OF LEADING FACTS WITH RESPECT TO THE CHURCHES

| | Protestant Churches | Catholic Church |
|--|------------------------|--------------------|
| Total seating capacity of church auditoriums | 2,250 | 800 |
| Total membership (Communicants) | 1,730 | 1,400 |
| Total membership under 21 years of age, four Protestant churches reporting | 283 | 700 |
| Total average morning attendance, four Protestant churches reporting | 390 | 1,250 |
| Total average evening attendance, five Protestant churches reporting | 623 | |

In the area covered by our survey there is a population of approximately 11,000. Considering the fact that these religious institutions serve a much wider region than that covered by the survey, it is evident that they do not play a very important rôle in the life of the neighborhood. Of the four Protestant churches supplying information, 23.7 per cent of their members are less than twenty-one years of age, and 50 per cent of the members of the Catholic church fall below this age limit. Five of the six ministers of the Protestant churches reported having difficulty in maintaining the interest of the young people of their congregations, while Father Clarke of the Holy Family Church stated that he had no problem in this regard. Furthermore, the four Protestant churches giving information reported an average attendance of only 33.7 per cent of their members at the morning service and 44.6 per cent at the evening service.

In addition to the churches just described, there are five missions in the neighborhood. It is interesting to note that these, like the saloons, are located in the eastern and northern sections of the district, that is, in the most disintegrated parts of the neighborhood. These missions were all visited by our investigator and information was obtained concerning the type of attendants, nature of teach-

ings, and extent of their activities. They are all open on week nights, and report a total average nightly attendance of 115, and a total average Sunday attendance of 320 people. In their preaching they emphasize Holiness, Gift of Tongues, Sanctification, etc. An interesting fact about these organizations is that most of them are products of the distant past, some of them dating back half a century or more. They are real, live, social organisms which owe their existence to the fact that they satisfy real needs in the lives of a people whose normal human desires have been stifled or misdirected by an adverse social environment. The mission affords an opportunity for self-expression and status in another world to those who, in the competitive social process, have lost social security and recognition, which indeed is the explanation of the "lost soul."

Of the six Protestant churches in the district, five gave information concerning their Sunday-school activities. These reported a total average weekly attendance in adult classes of 114, in intermediate classes, 241, and in classes for children, 130. These figures become significant when we interpret them in the light of the wider group statistics. In the territory which they serve there are approximately 3,000 children under eighteen years of age, which implies that only one out of every nine children is enrolled in a Protestant Sunday school. These figures are somewhat temporized, however, by the fact that the one Catholic church in the district has an average attendance of 360 children in its Sunday morning classes.

The six Protestant churches report the following societies in connection with their church work: eight societies for women with a total membership of approximately 250, four of which are devoted to missionary enterprises; four organizations for men with a total membership of 97; four young people's societies with an approximate membership of 235; four societies for girls with a total membership of 110; and one boy scout organization with a membership of thirty. Most of these societies have meetings once or twice a month with occasional social functions of a more general character.

In the six churches referred to, there are nine parlors with a total seating capacity for approximately three hundred people. Two of the churches have pianos, one a stereopticon, one a gym-

nasium, two libraries, and four have kitchens. The recreational activities of the Catholic church are carried on under the direction of the parochial school and Father Clarke reports that a fully equipped gymnasium is now being constructed in the school building.

In reply to the question, "What additional equipment would the pastor like?" we received the following statements: (1) "Basket-ball equipment, bowling alley in basement, a pool table, and a trained social worker." (2) "A community house and playground in connection." (3) "A stereopticon and some good games." (4) "The best thing is to have some religious service every night in the week." (5) "A bulletin board, a movie lantern, above all we lack leadership." (6) One pastor considers that it is not the function of the church to engage in welfare work.

X. LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

This district is by no means a unit so far as equipment of homes for leisure-time activities is concerned. With respect to the possession of musical instruments, books, magazines, and indoor games, a considerable number of the homes are furnished quite as well as those in the higher economic areas of the city. This is particularly true with reference to many of the homes west of Sandusky and south of Broad Street; and there are also homes scattered in other sections of the neighborhood where facilities for indoor leisure-time activities are by no means lacking. On the other hand, a large percentage of the homes of the entire neighborhood are pathetically bereft of any sort of equipment whatever for the fruitful expenditure of leisure time. For instance, many of the homes have little or no reading material other than the daily paper¹ and some families are either too poor or too ignorant to afford even that.

It will be noted that over 50 per cent of our one thousand families have in their homes no musical instrument whatever. On the other hand, 20 per cent of the homes contain pianos. This is merely further evidence of the heterogeneous character of the

¹ It is noteworthy that 76 per cent of the families reported taking as their daily paper the *Citizen*, an evening paper which features dramatic news and human interest stories. This paper's city circulation is quite large but not equal to that of its less dramatic competitor the *Columbus Despatch*.

population of this neighborhood. Poverty and sufficiency, viciousness and respectability, are to be found side by side in this area of the city.

It might be expected, owing to the relatively small part organized club life plays in the lives of the people of this district, that

TABLE XX
POSSESSION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

| NAME OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENT | FAMILIES REPORTING EACH SPECIFIED KIND OF INSTRUMENT | |
|----------------------------|--|------------|
| | No. | Percentage |
| No instrument..... | 506 | 50.6 |
| Piano..... | 218 | 21.8 |
| Organ..... | 16 | 1.6 |
| Phonograph..... | 181 | 18.1 |
| Piano and phonograph..... | 58 | 5.8 |
| Organ and phonograph..... | 4 | .4 |
| Unknown..... | 17 | 1.7 |
| Total..... | 1,000 | 100 |

social visiting would be the normal and customary way of spending leisure time. For this reason an attempt was made to ascertain to what extent social visiting was customary, either within, or without the neighborhood. For obvious reasons it was difficult to get accurate information on this point; consequently the following summary of facts is at best but an approximate statement of the truth.

TABLE XXI
EXTENT OF SOCIAL VISITING WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD¹

| | No. | Percentage |
|--|-------|------------|
| Number of families reporting no visiting at all..... | 235 | 23.5 |
| Number reporting more visiting within than without neighborhood..... | 506 | 50.6 |
| Number reporting more visiting outside neighborhood..... | 222 | 22.2 |
| Number reporting equal amount of visiting within and without neighborhood..... | 22 | 2.2 |
| Unknown..... | 15 | 1.5 |
| Total..... | 1,000 | 100 |

¹ In our survey we defined social visiting as calling on a family in its home and not merely talking over the back fence. Neighborhood was defined as the area within walking distance of the home.

The astonishing thing about this table is the large number of families—23 per cent—that reported no visiting at all. The usual explanation was: “I have too much to do, have no time for visiting” or “I attend to my own business and let other folk attend to theirs.”

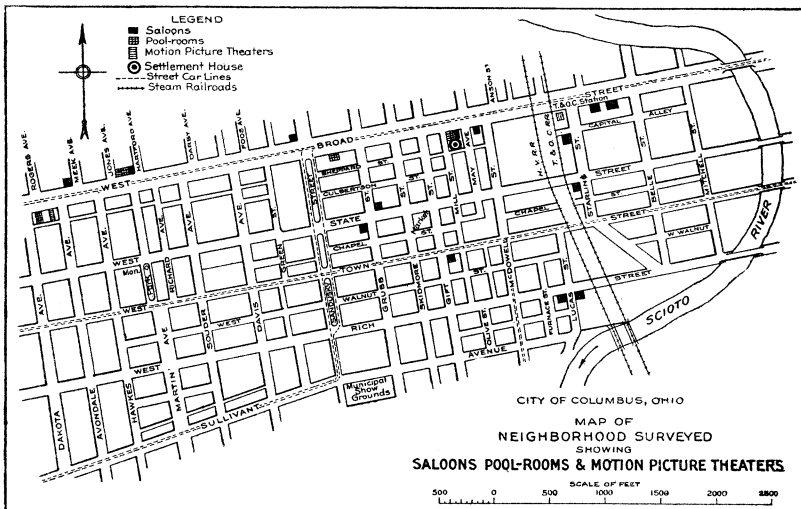
It is apparent that social visiting is, to a large extent, becoming obsolete even among the poorer classes as a means of employing leisure time. This is doubtless due to the mobility and anonymity of modern city life where personal acquaintance and neighborhood association have largely become a thing of the past.¹ In contrast to this it is interesting to note the replies of the old-timers to the question, “What were the principal old-time forms of recreation in the neighborhood?” The following answers are typical: “Picnics, neighborhood dances, barn dances, fishing parties, friendly visiting, etc.”

There are two leading amusement areas in the neighborhood where large numbers of the people, both young and old, gather every evening. These areas are the best lighted and gayest spots in the district. They can be easily recognized by even the casual visitor to the neighborhood as the local fountain heads of amusement. Both are located on Broad Street—one between May and Mill avenues, the other farther west on Broad between Hartford and Jones avenues. In the first area there are two saloons, each having a poolroom in the rear, a motion-picture theater, an air dome, a restaurant, a barber shop, and a shoe-shining parlor.

The three motion-picture theaters of the neighborhood are located in the two areas just referred to. One of these is really

¹ With the disintegration of the neighborhood a large element of any city's population is suffering from the lack of intimate associates. This is particularly true with reference to the mothers of small children. The disorganizing effect of loneliness has never been adequately analyzed. Graham Wallas says (*The Great Society* [1914], p. 350), “The fact . . . that there is a Mean in our powers of forming acquaintance, that it is joy to know enough people and a weariness to know too many, affects not only the group-organization of the Great Industry, but also the life of the industrial worker during the now slowly lengthening interval between his work and his sleep. The young unmarried artisan, or shopman, or clerk generally lives either in a one-roomed lodging with a defect of intimate association or in a great boarding-house with an excess of it. Outside his factory or office, he may either know no one to speak to or have a hundred nodding acquaintances and no friend.”

not a theater but an air dome and is closed during the winter months. Our investigator visited all three of these and had interviews with their managers. From the standpoint of sanitation and fire protection they were all reported as being in "fair" condition. The pictures shown were reported as being "thrilling, adventurous, daring"; nothing immoral or disorganizing was detected. According to the investigator's estimate of the age distribution of the audiences, 75 per cent in one, 65 per cent in the second, and 85 per cent in the third were under eighteen years of age. The audiences were, for the most part, made up of people



MAP XI

living within the immediate neighborhood, over 90 per cent of whom walked to the shows. The three theaters have a total seating capacity of 870, and an average daily attendance of about 800. In two of the theaters shows are held every evening with an additional matinee on Sunday. The third theater is open but four evenings of the week. Pictures are changed in all three theaters for each performance. A charge of ten cents for adults and of from six to ten cents for children is made.

It is very evident that the motion-picture show is the most popular form of amusement for the people of this neighborhood. The results of our house-to-house canvass show that, for the women

and children at least, the moving picture is the predominant type of recreation. The comparatively high percentage of small children in attendance at the shows is explained by the fact that the youth of the neighborhood are drawn to the more attractive and, for them, easily accessible forms of amusement in the heart of the city, while the older men attend the saloons and many of the mothers remain at home.

There are eight poolrooms in the neighborhood, three of which are connected with saloons. They all happen to be located on Broad Street. The poolroom is primarily the social club for the young men. About 50 per cent of the patrons present on the dates of inspection were under twenty-one years of age. In all of the poolrooms the conduct was reported as being "orderly and quiet." The young men, in general, seemed to be well acquainted with one another and used the poolroom as a social meeting place.

As indicated on Map XI there are at present (August, 1919) seventeen saloons within the area surveyed. These saloons have all been inspected twice; once in May before the demise of John Barleycorn, and again in August, two months after prohibition had gone into effect. An interesting fact brought out in the second tour of investigation was that all the saloons were found to be still open and doing an active business in "soft" drinks, confectionery, cigars, lunches, etc. In reply to the question, "Does the proprietor intend to continue in business?" four of the seventeen stated that they expected to turn their saloons into restaurants. One proprietor said that he was making more money than formerly; the remainder indicated that they were awaiting the results of the fall elections and the effects of the advent of cold weather on their soft drink business. Sixteen of the seventeen saloons were furnished with card tables; approximately 75 per cent of which were in active use on the evenings of investigation.

There are three distinct types of saloons in this neighborhood, characterized by the form of service rendered and the class of patron served. In the first place there is the "social club" saloon which serves as the evening clubhouse for the older men of the neighborhood. Saloons of this type are to be found, for the most part, west of Gift Street; they are all well equipped with card

tables and owe their existence largely to the fact that they are social meeting places for the older men of the neighborhood who are too tired after a day's work to go up town to the more dramatic but less sociable resorts on High and Front streets. Very few men under thirty years of age were found in these social-club saloons. Moreover the patrons seemed to be intimately acquainted with one another and spent their time in talking and playing "rummy" for the drinks. This type of saloon plays a very important part in the life of this particular class of people in the neighborhood. In fact the club life afforded by the saloon seems to be the only form of group association, outside the narrow circle of the home, in which the older males participate.

The second type of saloon is that which caters to the transient class of patrons. Saloons of this character are located on Broad Street, especially east of the subway where the chief industrial establishments of the neighborhood are situated. Such saloons do not encourage club life, and the patrons are, as a rule, strangers to one another who merely stop in for a drink and then depart.

The third and most questionable type of saloon is the "sporting-resort," used as a meeting place for young people who are attracted by this sort of life. The eastern section of the neighborhood contains several saloons of this character. The two saloons on Starling Street and the two on Lucas and Rich streets are the leading representatives of this class. They contain rear parlors of a somewhat questionable nature and are frequented by young men, "professional bums," who very probably do not live in the neighborhood but merely resort there periodically. Such rendezvous are a menace to the life of the neighborhood inasmuch as they attract the undesirable elements from the larger community and thus tend to disorganize the local area by driving out the more respectable families.¹

¹ Nowhere is the individualizing force of the city environment more clearly revealed than in the individual selection of leisure-time activities. Commercialized forms of recreation are organized to cater to the special interests of the different age, sex, and cultural groups of the population. Thus in our neighborhood the older men prefer the informal sociability of the saloon club life; the young men are attracted by the more active forms of amusement offered by the poolroom, or by the sex attractions of the cabaret or cheap dance hall; the young women attend the up-town dance halls or the movies; the small children attend the movies, while the mothers have little or no recreational life save an occasional visit to the motion-picture theater or the club life afforded by the church.

Leisure-time activities of children.—Through the kind co-operation of the principals and teachers of the three public schools in the neighborhood, a census was taken in the early part of May, 1919, of the after-school activities of all the children in Grades III to VIII inclusive. On a Monday morning the children were instructed by their teachers to relate in writing just how they had spent their time after leaving school Friday afternoon until they went to bed

TABLE XXII

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES REPORTED BY 350 SCHOOL BOYS FOR A TWO-DAY PERIOD,
MAY 23-24, 1919

| TIME | PLAYING BASEBALL | ROAMING, FISHING, SWIMMING | ATTENDING PICTURE SHOWS | UNDESIGNATED PLAY | READING, STUDYING | WORKING | | | GOING UP TOWN |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | | | Street Trades | Other Work for Pay | Helping Parents | |
| Fri. afternoon.... | 32.0 | 8.6 | .8 | 16.0 | 6.9 | 10.6 | 12.3 | 33.1 | 5.1 |
| Fri. evening..... | 16.8 | 7.4 | 20.0 | 13.0 | 30.8 | 1.4 | 4.4 | 15.4 | 4.6 |
| Sat. morning..... | 16.0 | 13.0 | | 30.8 | 5.0 | 7.0 | 14.8 | 33.7 | 12.3 |
| Sat. afternoon.... | 25.4 | 9.2 | 3.8 | 14.0 | 4.3 | 8.3 | 13.4 | 21.7 | 14.0 |
| Sat. evening..... | 9.7 | 8.3 | 27.4 | 12.3 | 12.3 | 3.0 | 8.6 | 16.0 | 15.0 |

TABLE XXIII

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES REPORTED BY 375 SCHOOL GIRLS FOR A TWO-DAY PERIOD,
MAY 23-24, 1919

| Time | Undesig- nated Play | Walking, Visiting, Picnics | Attending Picture Shows | Doing Nothing | Reading, Studying, Music | Working for Pay | Helping Parents | Going up Town |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Fri. afternoon... | 29.3 | 7.7 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 24.3 | 4.0 | 56.0 | 8.3 |
| Fri. evening..... | 29.1 | 11.7 | 14.1 | 4.0 | 38.1 | .8 | 32.3 | 2.4 |
| Sat. morning.... | 12.3 | 5.1 | 7.5 | .3 | 7.1 | 2.4 | 79.7 | 10.7 |
| Sat. afternoon... | 22.1 | 17.3 | 18.3 | 1.6 | 12.3 | 3.2 | 33.6 | 27.7 |
| Sat. evening.... | 20.0 | 13.9 | 25.0 | 2.9 | 18.1 | 1.3 | 22.7 | 15.7 |

Saturday night. In Tables XXII-XXIII an attempt has been made to classify the recorded activities according to the specified time intervals.

Owing to the striking dissimilarity of the activities reported by the boys and the girls it was found necessary to make separate classifications. For instance social visiting and picnicing are popular activities with the girls while fishing and roaming are more attractive to the boys. In both tables the term "undesignated

play" includes all sorts of general statements such as "After school I went home and played till supper time" or "I went out and played with the kids." It will be observed that a very considerable part of the play activities of both sexes is of this general, unorganized, and undirected nature. It simply means that the children are out in the streets and alleys chasing one another around as the occasion or impulse may direct. Play of this sort usually ends up in mischief or disorderliness, with the subsequent formation of predatory gangs. The favorite game among the boys is baseball. The girls, on the other hand, seem to have no outstanding form of play. The traditional attitude that a girl is supposed to work or mind the baby rather than waste her time in play is clearly exemplified by the facts revealed in these tables. The large percentage of girls who report "helping parents" shows that the main activity, after school hours, is doing housework. Working for pay, however, is much less common among the girls than among the boys, as over 20 per cent of the latter report "working for remuneration." The most popular form of evening amusement for both girls and boys is going to the movies. In this respect the percentages for both sexes are about equal. From 20 to 25 per cent of all the children report attending the motion-picture theater on both Friday and Saturday evenings. Another fact of interest in regard to these tables is the large number of both boys and girls who go up town on Saturday evening. Of the girls who thus reported 8 per cent gave no particular reason for their action, merely making such general statements as, "After supper I went up town" or "On Saturday night I went up town," or as one girl of fourteen put it, "On Saturday night I went up town for awhile and then I went to Olentangy Park and danced till ten o'clock." Two main factors are conducive to this going-up-town habit; first, the proximity of the neighborhood to the center of the city, and second, the individualism of the modern family which finds its extreme expression in such neighborhoods as this.

The school and recreation.—There are three public schools in the district, two elementary and one intermediate, having an aggregate daily attendance, in 1919, of 1,644 pupils. The two elementary schools, Fieser and Franklinton, which include Grades I to VI,

draw all their pupils from the immediate neighborhood covered by our survey. The district of the Avondale intermediate school, however, extends considerably farther west; about two-thirds of the pupils attending come from the Hilltop or adjoining territory.

The Fieser School, located at the corner of State and Starling streets, is in the midst of the most broken-down area on the west side. It has an average daily attendance of approximately 450 children ranging in ages from six to twelve years. The building is old and very ill-adapted to the service which a school should perform in modern community life. It is heated by hot air and has no ventilation system other than the windows and doors. Moreover it contains no artificial lighting system of any sort. Not only is this a tremendous handicap to the general work of the day school but it makes it impossible to use the building at night for neighborhood meetings.

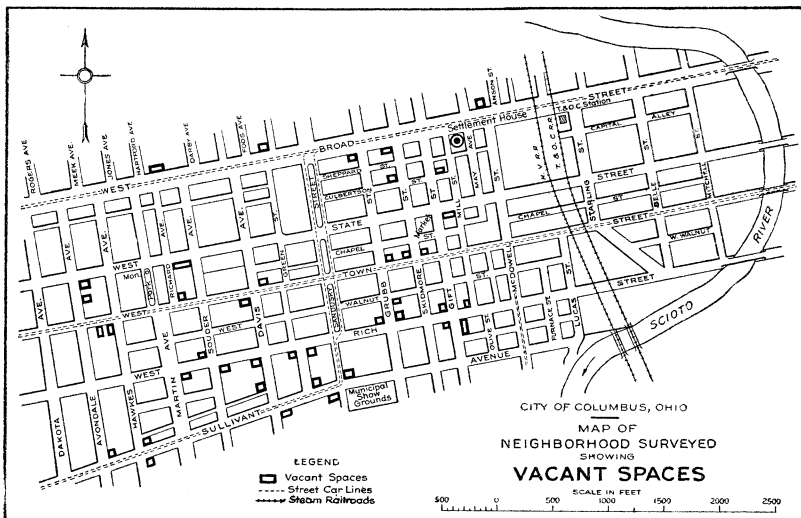
The Fieser School has a total play space of approximately 23,000 square feet which is divided by outbuildings into three different areas. Considering that there are about 450 pupils attending the school, this makes an average play space of about 50 square feet per child. Taking 145 square feet per child, the minimum amount of space agreed upon by experts as necessary for circle games, it is obvious that Fieser School falls far below this standard.

The Franklinton Elementary School, located at the corner of Broad and Sandusky streets, has an enrolment this year (1919) of 550 pupils. There is a total ground space at this school of approximately 10,000 square feet which is divided into two long, narrow strips, one about 18 feet wide used by the boys, the other 15 feet wide comprising the girls' playground. It is apparent that these strips are entirely inadequate for any sort of group games. They do not even afford room for slides, teeters, etc., nor is there space adequate for the playing of basket-ball. The school has no gymnasium; one room in the basement might be used for this purpose if it were properly floored and ventilated.

The Avondale Intermediate School, located on the corner of Avondale and Town streets, has an enrolment of about 600 pupils. It has a play space of approximately 40,000 square feet which gives considerably more room per child than is provided at the Frank-

linton School. There is no outdoor playground equipment but the principal expects to start basket-ball and indoor baseball soon. There is no gymnasium in the school.

In addition to the fact that the schools of the neighborhood afford but little opportunity for healthful play we must note that the district facilities for outdoor recreation are also much below the average for the city as a whole. The houses and apartments of the neighborhood, with very few exceptions, are built close up to the sidewalks leaving no lawn or play spaces. Further, the backyards



MAP XII

are small and, for the most part, filled up with old shacks and weeds making them inaccessible for play purposes. These statements apply particularly to the eastern half of the district, especially to the section between Grubb Street and the river.

On the accompanying map (XII) of the neighborhood we have shown all the available open spaces which are large enough for children's games. It will be noted that east of McDowell Street there is not a single vacant lot upon which the children may play, and it may also be said of this region that there is scarcely a single lawn or patch of grass big enough for the simplest games of even the smallest

children. It is a common sight during any afternoon or evening to see dozens of little children in this section of the neighborhood huddled together in some grimy alley or chasing one another around a telephone pole on the street corner—human nature, both metaphorically and literally, being torn around by the hair of the head.

XI. EDUCATION AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

For a general conception of the educational status of this neighborhood the reader is referred to Table XXIV.¹

TABLE XXIV
PERCENTAGE OF NON-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY WARDS OF CHILDREN
6 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE

| Ward | No. Attending | No. Not Attending | Percentage Not Attending |
|---------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 8..... | 676 | 4 | 0.6 |
| 16..... | 2,945 | 251 | 7.8 |
| 5..... | 2,945 | 402 | 12.0 |
| 7..... | 1,718 | 325 | 15.8 |
| 6..... | 1,394 | 478 | 16.6 |
| 15..... | 1,668 | 357 | 17.6 |
| 14..... | 1,588 | 374 | 19.1 |
| 4..... | 2,096 | 519 | 19.8 |
| 12..... | 812 | 202 | 19.9 |
| 11..... | 3,032 | 761 | 20.1 |
| 1..... | 2,634 | 704 | 21.1 |
| 10..... | 2,088 | 704 | 25.2 |
| 3..... | 2,974 | 1,125 | 27.4 |
| 13..... | 2,705 | 1,209 | 32.4 |
| 2..... | 1,528 | 963 | 38.7 |
| 9..... | 742 | 586 | 44.1 |

Recalling that our neighborhood is located in Wards 9 and 10, it is evident that a relatively large percentage of its young people are not attending school. Ward 9 stands at the bottom of the list with 44.1 per cent of the age group in question not attending school. Ward 10 occupies the fifth place from the bottom, with a percentage of non-school attendance of 25.2.

There is no way of finding out what proportion of the non-school attendance of each ward falls in the lower years of the age group. Obviously, however, the largest part of it is made up of children over fourteen years of age. The different percentages just indi-

¹ These figures are taken from the unpublished records of the Columbus Board of Education, 1918.

cated may be taken, therefore, as a rough measure of the extent to which the young people of the various wards of the city go to high school or college. Ward 8 might be omitted from the list inasmuch as it comprises the central business section of the city and has but few children resident in it. Moreover, Wards 2, 3, and 13 with their relatively poor showing should be studied in connection with Map I¹ which shows the distribution of national and racial groups within the city. It will be observed that these are areas in which reside large negro and foreign elements.

No attempt was made to obtain information relative to the question of retardation of the children of the schools in the neighborhood. But in a recent study, made by the department of psychology of the state university, the children of Fieser School were rated as mentally two years below the average for children of the same age in a school located in one of the higher economic areas of the city.²

Fieser School.—The two elementary schools, Fieser and Franklin, are both very much overcrowded. The Fieser School tries to obviate this condition by dividing its elementary classes into two sections, one attending from 8 to 11.30 A.M., and the other from 12:30 to 3 P.M. The school has an open-window or “fresh-air” class which on the date of inspection had an enrolment of eighteen pupils. These pupils attend school from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. and are served their noonday meal by the school under the direction of Dr. Lenhart, the physician in charge. Penny lunches are served at the Fieser School at 10 A.M. daily. The principal states that about 25 per cent of the children patronize these lunches, which consist of a glass of whole milk and some graham crackers. The school also conducts a special class for retarded children. This class has an enrolment of sixteen children, most of whom are colored.³

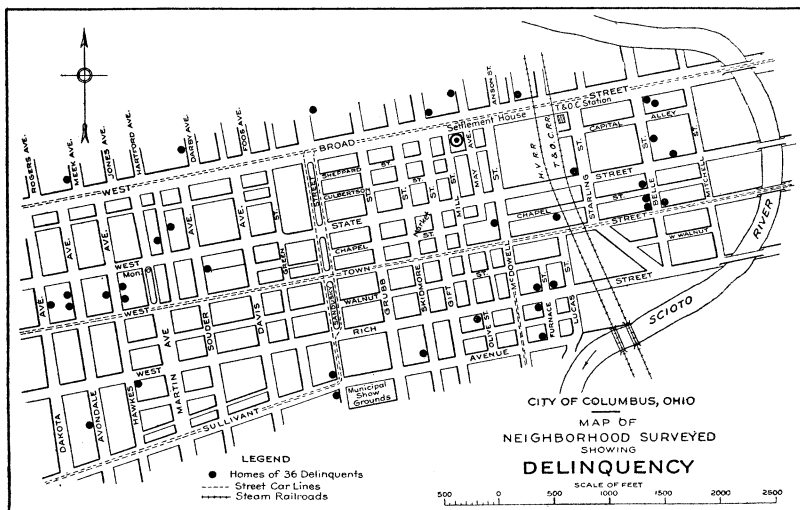
Juvenile delinquency.—The reader is referred to Map V¹ for a general idea of the territorial distribution of the “official” cases of juvenile delinquency for a single year period, 1918–19. The follow-

¹ See *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVII (September, 1921), 147.

² J. W. Bridges and Lillian Coler, “The Relation of Intelligence to Social Status,” *Psychology Review*, XXIV (January, 1917), p. 22.

³ See *American Journal Sociology*, XXVII (September, 1921), 166.

ing map of the neighborhood shows the local distribution of delinquency in greater detail. Of the 521 cases of juvenile delinquency indicated on the map of the city, 36 fall within the confines of the neighborhood. While this is a larger pro rata percentage than for



MAP XIII

the city as a whole, still the neighborhood shows up favorably when compared with some of the other local divisions of the city.

XII. NEIGHBORHOOD SENTIMENT

In the course of time every section and quarter of a city takes on something of the character and quality of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own.¹

Attachment to locality is probably the best criterion of positive neighborhood sentiment. There is a tendency on the part of most people after living for a time in a certain spot or locality to become so psychologically adjusted to their physical and social surroundings that they experience a feeling of discomfort and dissatisfaction when transferred to a new environment. We are all familiar with

¹ Park, *op. cit.*, p. 579.

the homesickness of the young person on the event of his first departure from his native village and his longing to return at the first opportunity to what he considers to be "the best spot on earth." In the city environment neighborhood sentiment, or attachment to locality, has become largely dissipated owing to the transitory nature of residence and the absence of home ownership. But various sections of city life differ remarkably in regard to the extent of local feeling and neighborhood pride exhibited. In some localities within the city, neighborhood sentiment is a negative factor, expressing itself in terms of disapproval and repulsion with regard to local surroundings, while in other areas the opposite sentiments prevail, those of local pride and loyalty.

From the standpoint of neighborhood organization it is important to know the general attitudes of the people toward their physical and social surroundings. Where there exists general satisfaction with respect to locality it is possible to enlist interest in neighborhood up-building. But if the opposite sentiments prevail, those of dissatisfaction and disapproval, it is not likely that much headway can be made in building up interest in neighborhood institutions.

An attempt was made in our survey to obtain from every household the prevailing attitude toward the neighborhood and the people living round about. Direct questions were avoided, but in the course of conversation the visitor recorded significant statements made by the informant pertaining to the physical and social surroundings. Obviously it is impracticable to attempt to classify the great variety of remarks quoted by the investigators. We have selected almost at random, therefore, two streets, one from the eastern half of the neighborhood and one from the western half. The schedules are taken in order for these two streets and the sentiments expressed in the words of the informant are recorded without selection or discrimination. Street A lies west of Sandusky Street where over 50 per cent of the residents own their homes. Street B, on the other hand, is located in the more broken-down region near the eastern end of the neighborhood where less than 25 per cent of the residents own their homes.

The following lists give the direct expressions of neighborhood sentiment for the two streets in question:

STREET A

We like the neighborhood very much.

Perfectly satisfied, afraid I'll have to get out now because of property exchanges and I'm very sorry I have to leave.

Like it pretty well—very nice neighbors.

Very good dear neighbors, no time for visiting.

Like it very much, not uppish but very friendly.

Fine neighborhood, couldn't be better for us.

Very pleasant neighborhood.

Neighborhood seems attractive.

Satisfied with neighborhood, and like my neighbors very much.

Satisfied with neighborhood.

I like neighborhood very much, prefer it to any other I know of.

Pleasant people but not well acquainted with them.

I like it, all good friends in neighborhood.

Grand neighborhood, people very friendly but I do not visit much.

Don't have time for visiting.

Like my neighbors very much.

Very nice neighbors and neighborhood.

Don't visit back and forth very much but all good friends.

Got right kind of neighbors, just like one family in helping each other.

Neighborhood couldn't be better.

There never was a better set of neighbors, all willing to help each other.

Very much attached to this neighborhood.

There is a great deal of good spirit and friendliness in our neighborhood.

Splendid neighborhood, I like my neighbors, but do not visit with them a great deal.

Perfectly satisfied with the neighborhood; neighbors are all nice friendly people.

STREET B

Neighborhood just average, people strange and quarrel a lot.

I don't like it and don't mix with the neighbors but have to stay on account of my boy.

Rough district, I don't speak to the neighbors, they swear and drink too much. They are jealous of us.

Would like to move out east again.

Like West Side but not this street, no freedom, I hate Mrs. K.

Don't like neighbors, they are hard to get along with, fussy, so I stay to myself and bother none of them.

Don't like neighborhood, want to move away, too many low characters.
My husband likes East Side better but will stay here though with me.
Don't go out much here, don't like my neighbors.
I like the neighborhood and have good neighbors.
Neighborhood fine, don't have much time to visit neighbors.
I like the few neighbors I know.
Like the neighborhood.
No hard feelings among neighbors.
Don't like it but have to put up with it.
Like West Side but not this street, every one gets along fine but Mrs. ——.
Like it very well, have good neighbors.
Don't like it here, don't speak to the neighbors.
Not well acquainted, don't go any place.
Like the neighborhood very well.
I like the one neighbor that I know all right.
I like Rich Street better, people here think they're better than I am.
I know all the neighbors but don't bother with them at all.
Haven't been here long but like the neighbors so far.
We speak to each other but don't visit at all.

It is obvious that the term "neighborhood" in these expressions is used in the restricted sense as implying, for the most part, the street on which the family resides, or at most not more than the immediately adjacent streets. And the "neighbors" are the people living on the same street with perhaps the families on the street in the rear whose back doors are adjacent.

There is a striking difference in the warmth of the sentiments exhibited in these two lists. Street A is a street of neighbors; a street of wholesome common folk who have lived long in close proximity and have developed sentiments of loyalty and attachment to their local environment. Street B, on the other hand, with the exception of a few families in the middle which form, as one might say, a "warm spot" of neighborly association, represents the result of a forced selection. That is where economic necessity compels people of unlike attitudes and cultural tastes to live in close proximity to one another. In such regions there can be no positive neighborhood sentiment; hatred and avoidance prevail until opportunity arises for moving on.

[To be continued]